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CHARLES FORBES

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PLACE: LONDON

DATE: 1859

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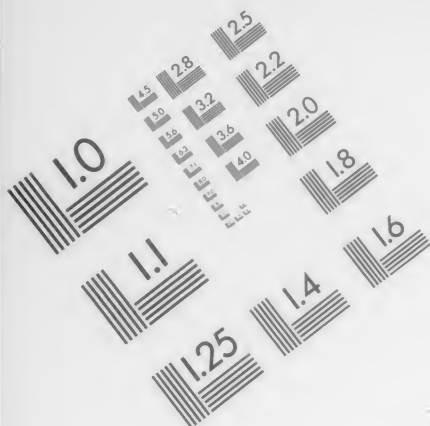
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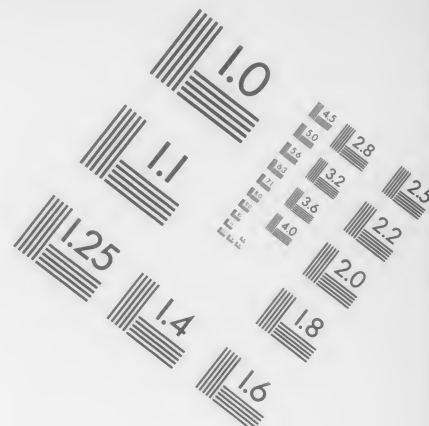
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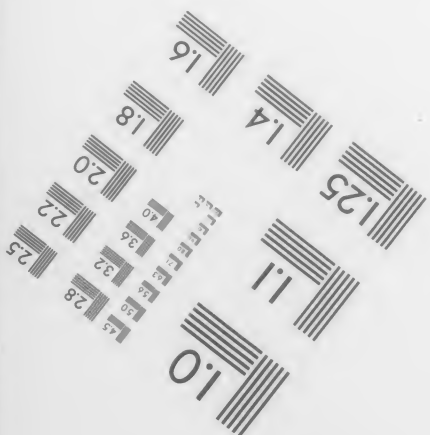
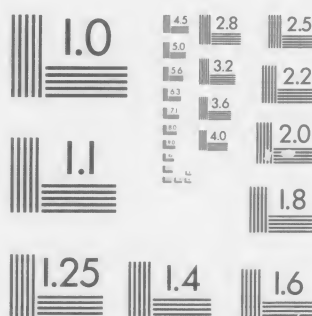
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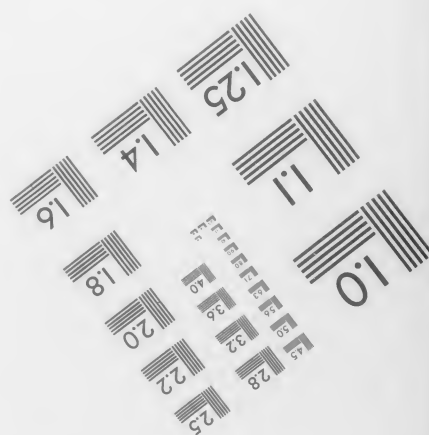
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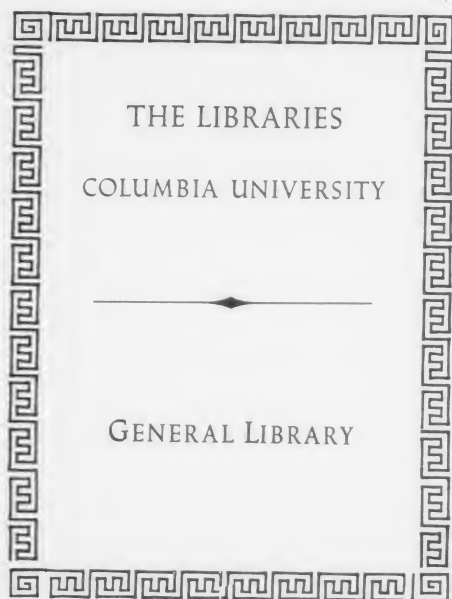


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PIUS THE NINTH

AND

FRANCE

IN 1849 AND IN 1859.

BY

THE COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT,

MEMBER OF THE BODY OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

*Translated from the Pamphlet originally from the Correspondent,
with Additions and Corrections by the Author.*

THE ONLY COMPLETE EDITION.

LONDON:

W. J. & S. 15, BURLINGTON ARCADE.

AND 5, RISE'S ROAD, BRIGHTON.

1859.

REVUE INDÉPENDANTE.

POLITIQUE—PHILOSOPHIE—LITTÉRATURE—
SCIENCES—BEAUX-ARTS.

LA PARTIE LITTÉRAIRE DE CETTE REVUE EST SOUS LA DIRECTION DE

M. GUSTAVE MASSON,

Professeur de Littérature Française à HARROW SCHOOL.

LA REVUE INDÉPENDANTE paraît le 1^{er} de chaque mois, à Londres, chez
W. JEFFES, 15, BURLINGTON ARCADE.

LIVRAISON DU 1^{er} JUILLET, 1859.

LETTRE A L'ÉDITEUR DE LA REVUE INDÉPENDANTE.
L'EMPRUNT DES CINQ CENT MILLIONS.
DU PARTI LIBÉRAL EN FRANCE.

PARTIE LITTÉRAIRE.

Le Parlement et la France: Vie de Mathieu Molé; par M. DE BARANTE.
La Liberté; par JULES SIMON.
Histoire de la Littérature Française pendant la Révolution; par E. GÉRUZEZ.
Lettres du Comte d'Avaux à Voiture; par A. ROUX.
Œuvres Posthumes d'Alfred de Musset.
L'Église et l'Empire Romain au 4^{ème} Siècle; par le Prince A. DE BROGLIE.
Caractères et Portraits Littéraires du Seizième Siècle; par LÉON FEUGÈRE.
Nouvelles; par JULES SANDEAU.
Études sur la Marine.
Essais de Morale et de Critique; par ERNEST RENAN.
Essais de Politique et de Littérature; par M. PRIVOST-PARADOL.
Essai de Philosophie Religieuse; par EMILE SAISSET.
Les Premiers Jours du Protestantisme en France; par H. DE TRIQUETI.
Liste Alphabétique des Ouvrages publiés en France jusqu'au 20 Juin 1859.

LIVRAISON DU 1^{er} AOÛT 1859.

LA NOTE DU 'MONITEUR.'
DE L'ALLIANCE ANGLAISE.
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DE LA SITUATION DU THÉÂTRE EN FRANCE.

PARTIE LITTÉRAIRE.

Essais sur le Génie de Pindare, et sur la poésie lyrique; par M. VILLEMMAIN.
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Lettres inédites de la Princesse des Ursins, par M. A. GEFFROY.
Poésies populaires Siciliennes, traduites par AUGUSTE DOZON.
Sermons choisis de Bossuet, de Bourdaloue et de Massillon; avec une préface
par M. SILVESTRE DE SACY.
Les Gueux Gauloises; par M. CLAUDE SAUVAGE.
Romans Nouveaux.
L'Homme de Neige; par GEORGE SAND.
Scènes d'Aristophane, traduites en vers français par EUGÈNE FALLEUX.
Liste Alphabétique des Ouvrages publiés en France jusqu'au 20 Juillet 1859.

PIUS IX. AND FRANCE

IN 1849 AND IN 1859.

BY

THE COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT,

ONE OF THE FORTY OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

Translated from the Pamphlet reprinted from the *Correspondant*,
with Additions and Corrections by the Author.

THE ONLY COMPLETE EDITION.

LONDON:

W. JEFFS, 15, BURLINGTON ARCADE,

AND 69, KING'S ROAD, BRIGHTON.

1859.

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The 'Moniteur' published the following warning, addressed to the 'Correspondant':—

Considering the article published by the journal the 'Correspondant' in its number of the 23th October, 1859, under the signature of Ch. de Montalembert, and under the title of 'Pius IX. and France in 1849 and in 1859';

More especially having regard to the following passages:—

"It was France which preserved the temporal independence of the Holy See in 1849, and yet it is she who allows it to be shaken and diminished in 1859 . . . Once again, it is this war, carried by France into Italy, that will have brought about the destruction of the temporal authority of the Pope in a third of his territories, and the irreparable disorder of the remainder. The eldest daughter of the Church will remain accountable for it to the present as to history, to Europe as to God. . . .

"The policy of England has but one name, it is ignoble. . . .

"As to Piedmont . . . we have seen with bitter regret that noble country exchange its patient and laborious task, so fruitful and so pure, as a moral and intellectual guide, for that of a greedy and impatient adventurer

"But we must declare that if Italy, instead of decreeing a statue to falsehood, to political depravity personified in Machiavelli . . . It is known that the Tuscan Government has just decided that statues to Machiavelli, as well as to the Emperor Napoleon III. and King Victor-Emmanuel"

Considering that by denouncing the war carried on by France in Italy as having led to the destruction of the temporal authority of the Pope, that article belies the result of our glorious expedition and is a calumny on the policy of the Emperor;

That, overstepping all the limits of a free appreciation of foreign Governments, it insults nations allied to France;

That the assimilation, designedly insulting, between the name of Machiavelli and those of His Majesty Napoleon III. and of Victor-Emmanuel, is a direct breach of the respect due to the Emperor;

Considering, finally, that the Government, whose duty it is to enlighten the public conscience, cannot abandon to the mercy of individual passions the honour of French policy, the glory of our arms, and the loyalty of principles so solemnly affirmed;

It is decreed:

1st Art. A first warning is given to the journal the 'Correspondant' in the person of M. de Montalembert, who signed the article, and of M. Douniol, the publisher.

Since the above warning was given to the 'Correspondant' proceedings have been commenced against M. de Montalembert.

PIUS IX. AND FRANCE

IN 1849 AND IN 1859.

Ten years ago, nearly to the day, in the month of October, 1849, a debate arose in the National Assembly upon the consequences of the Roman expedition,—a discussion rendered necessary by the publication of the letter of the President of the Republic to Colonel Edgard Ney, which announced the conditions which the Head of the executive intended to impose on re-establishing the Pope in his States. An admirable report of M. Thiers, had laid down, in a sense greatly opposed to that letter, that Pius IX. should be reinstated in the plenitude of liberty and sovereignty. Let us quote the 'Moniteur':—

"The framer of the Report.—France, once represented at Rome by her army, could never commit the blunder of herself using violence towards the Holy Father, whom she had just delivered from the violence of a faction; she of necessity restored him his throne and his liberty, his full and entire freedom, for that was her mission. But she acquired from circumstances a right, a right but rarely obtained—the right to advise. If under ordinary circumstances one sovereign should take it into his head to say to another, 'You are acting wrongly; act in such or such a manner,' he would be at once committing an error and a usurpation. But a sovereign who has just established another, in the common interest of order, of humanity, of religion, and of political equilibrium, acquires, from the gravity of the surrounding circumstances and from the service rendered, the right to give advice. France, in making an

effort, an effort not to be measured by the difficulty of taking a few bastions, a difficulty which happily her army never reckons such, but by the political difficulties that such an enterprise may entail,—France, say we, in making such an effort, had a right to beg the Holy Father—

“(Interruptions from the Extreme Left.)

“*A member of the Left.*—To beg on her knees.

“*Another member.*—That is the language of a Capuchin. M. de Montalembert should surely be satisfied. (Agitation.)

“*The framer of the Report.*—I am astonished at the interruption. I am astonished that you should not have sufficient pride to understand the value of these words in speaking of a power which has not an army of half a million of men. (Well said! well said! from the Right; disturbance at the Extreme Left.)

“I resume. France, in making such an effort, had a right to beg the Holy Father to take proper means to satisfy his subjects, and to appease any just cause of discontent they might have. She had the right to advise what reforms would, by reconciling the subjects of the Roman States with the pontifical sovereignty, dispense with her returning herself to Rome or allowing admission to Austria, both circumstances equally to be regretted by every one.

“France did not find the Holy Father either less generous or less liberal than in 1847, but circumstances had sadly altered.

“... Laws were announced, and the word of Pius IX. sufficed to dispel all doubts. But the counsels of France should be directed to rendering effective the *motu proprio*, and above all, to extend the clemency of the Pontiff to all those who can be amnestied without endangering public order.

“This should be the work of an influence kept up with patience, with calmness, and respect—(quite right!),—an influence which would constitute, we repeat, a claim inadmissible, had not imperative circumstances called upon us to use it, but which, kept within proper bounds, is perfectly compatible with the independence and dignity of the Holy See. (Quite right! quite right!)

“A portion of this task is done. We desire that the remainder should be accomplished as early as possible, and that

our troops may soon leave the Holy Father (whom we went to deliver and not to enthrall) peaceably established in his States. (Well said! well said! Numerous marks of approbation. The speaker, on leaving the rostrum, received the congratulations of his friends.)

"*A voice from the Left.*—And not a word about the letter of the President of the Republic. (Prolonged agitation.)"*

Five days afterwards, a Representative of the people, who rose to support the conclusions of M. Thiers, thus ended his speech:—

"History will relate, that a thousand years after Charlemagne, and fifty years after Napoleon,—a thousand years after Charlemagne had acquired immortal glory by re-establishing the pontifical power, and fifty years after Napoleon, in the height of his power and prestige, had failed in the effort to undo the work of his incomparable predecessor,—history will relate that France remained true to her traditions and deaf to odious designs.

"It will relate that thirty thousand Frenchmen, led by the worthy son of one of the giants of our grand imperial wars, left the shores of their country to re-establish in Rome, in the person of the Pope, right, equity, and European and French interests.

"It will relate what Pius IX. himself states in his letter of thanks to General Oudinot:—

"'The triumph of French arms has been over the enemies of the human race.' Yes, that will be one of the greatest glories of France and of the nineteenth century. You would not diminish, or tarnish, or extinguish that glory by rushing into a tissue of contradictions, complications, and inextricable difficulties. Do you know what would for ever tarnish the glory of the French flag? It would be opposing that flag to the cross, to the tiara it has just rescued; it would be the transformation of the French soldiers from protectors into oppressors of the Pope; it would be exchanging the position and glory of Charlemagne for the miserable counterfeit of Garibaldi."†

* *Moniteur*, 14th October, 1849. † *Moniteur*, 20th October, 1849.

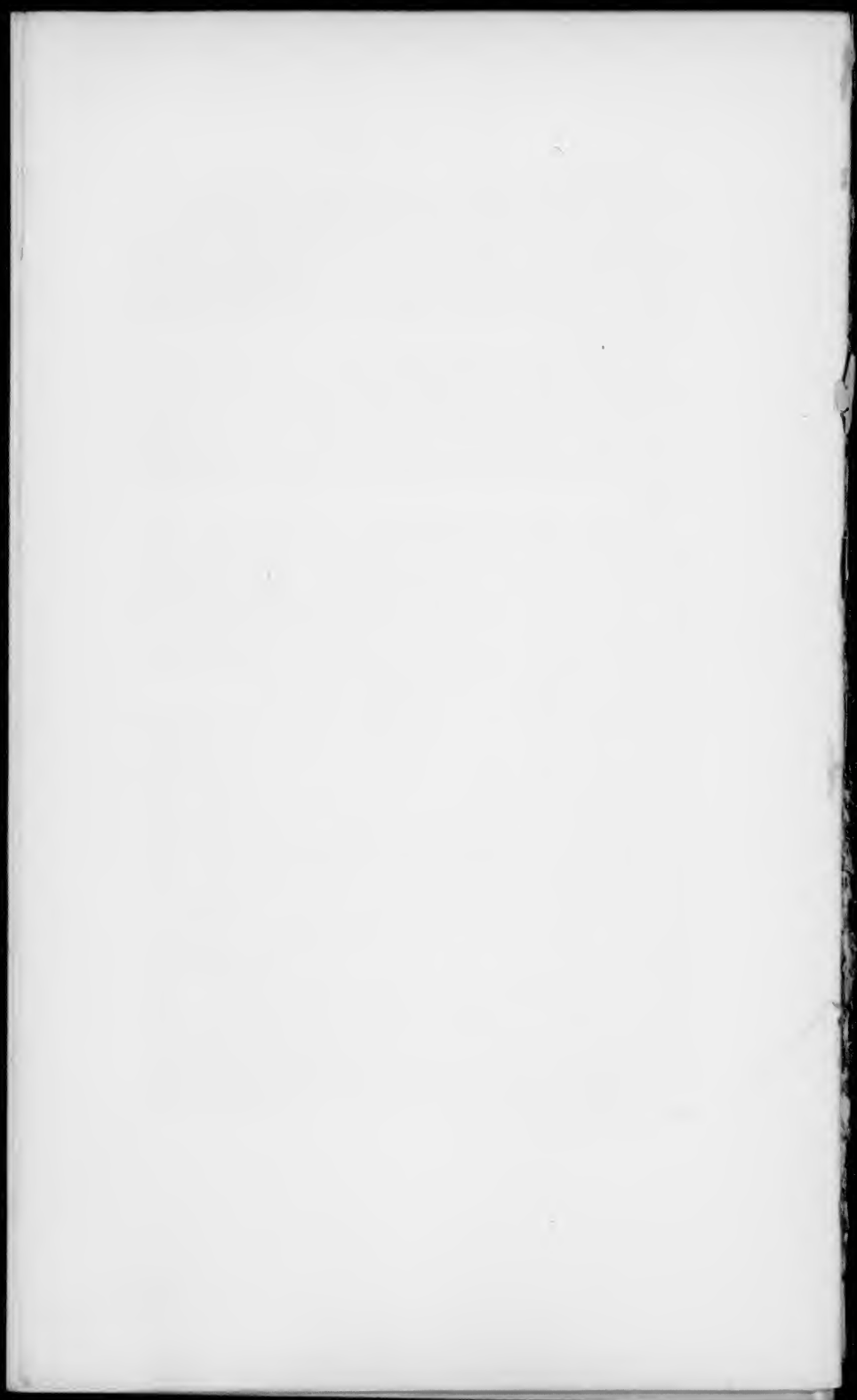
The following day the suggestions of M. Thiers were adopted by the immense majority of 469 against 180.

I pity those who will only perceive in the revival of these recollections the satisfaction of personal vanity: as if all vanity would not be buried beneath the bitter regret arising from the contrast between what took place then and what is passing now.

Ten years have passed since then; a French army has returned to Italy; she there added an immortal, and, we may say, superfluous glory, to all its old renown; but there is too much reason to fear that the result of this glory will be to do the work of Garibaldi, and to undo that of Charlemagne.

Yes, the work of Charlemagne is precisely his work; for the Legation, where the insurrection broke out, whose separation from the pontifical States is effected through our war in Italy, represents precisely that Exarchate of Ravenna, the gift or restitution whereof to the Holy See by the Carolingians constitutes the most ancient title of sovereignty and property now existing in the world.

A bitterly sad contrast, as I have said, between 1849 and 1859! not only in the acts of sovereign authority in France, but in the dispositions of the mass of the conservative public, then so enthusiastic in the cause of Pius IX., now so lukewarm and indifferent; and again in the disposition of Europe, then sympathizing universally with the expedition to Rome, and disposed to contest the honour of it with France, now indifferent, careless, or an accomplice of the foe. What are the causes of this contrast? Have we sufficient liberty to name them? No. But without defining them, can we not guess or perceive them? Yes. It is sufficient to call the conscientious attention to the subject of any man accustomed to reflect, and whom the incurable blindness of an evident complicity with the causes of the present position of affairs has not deprived of all clearness of mind.



Let us return then to the recollections of 1849; all have their value. We may even go back so far as 1848, and to that first discussion respecting Pius IX. on the 30th November, 1848, when the meaning and intention of the first armed demonstration in the affairs of Rome pierced through all the uncertainties and dangers of the situation; when the name and example of Charlemagne were for the first time invoked with success in a republican assembly; in which M. Ledru Rollin, with a hostile intention towards the expedition, but justly and logically, thus took up the question:—"Let us go to the origin of the subject. You can only defend one individual, the temporal prince, the temporal chief of the States of the Church, struggling against his revolted subjects."*

As to the debate of October, 1849, that turned entirely upon the letter of the President of the Republic to M. Edgar Ney. *Invisible, but present*, not only was it the subject of the refutations of M. Thiers and M. de la Rosière in an excellent address, a true compendium of honest diplomacy and elevated policy, which cannot be too often read: it was more especially referred to by the orators of the Mountain, by M. Victor Hugo, by M. Emile Barrault, by M. Mathieu (de la Drôme), by General Cavaignac himself. The interrupters, who then played a greater part in the Opposition than the orators, incessantly interfered, and every moment called upon the Government and the majority to discuss the letter.† "*They have constantly praised the*

* 'Moniteur,' 1st December, 1848.

† "*The President of the Council* (Odilon Barrot).—Whoever uses a threat should know what he pledges himself to. A vain and empty threat! it is either a piece of cowardice or a contemptible boast. (Well said! well said!)

Different voices from the Left.—The letter! the letter!

The President of the Council.—A threat which cannot be realized.

The same voices from the Left.—The letter!

The President of the Council.—But what letter do you want?

The same voices from the Left.—The President's; read it!

[Numerous

letter," said M. Dupin from the Left. It was thereby thoroughly understood that the conditions laid down in that letter were distasteful to the majority, and were implicitly rejected by their vote. According to the terms of the constitution, the will of the legislative power overruled that of the executive. The Prince Louis Napoleon was the first to acknowledge it and to act in consequence. He changed his ministers, who had not, as he thought, defended his policy with sufficient energy, in spite of their efforts to establish a species of conformity between his letter and the *motu proprio* of the Pope; but he made no attempt through their successors to meddle with the decision of the Assembly. The Pope returned to Rome, free and paramount. The Head of the French Government seemed to accept the position,—so much so, that we have read in more than twenty episcopal mandates, that it was he alone who restored the Pope to his States; he has even been congratulated upon having effected it in spite of the Assembly.

But what was the whole programme then so feared and

Numerous voices from the Centre and the Right.—Every one knows it; do not read it! do not answer!

The President of the Council.—I have read and am reading from the letter, by which the President of the Republic appeals solemnly to the personal feelings of the Pope against the influences by which he is surrounded. (Read! read!) I have not perceived a threatening word.

Numerous voices from the Left.—Yes! Yes! Read it.

From all parts.—No! no!

M. Charles Dupin.—They have constantly praised the letter. . . .

The President of the Council.—Gentlemen, in spite of all we must be just, we must belong to justice rather than to party; we must compare, no one must lie too impudently against evidence, for evidence brings a reaction. (Approbation from several benches.)

M. Bourzat.—It is the Ministry which every day falsifies its own words. But the letter?

The President of the Assembly (Dupin).—M. Bourzat, this is at least the twentieth time of your calling, 'But the letter?' When you have the right of speech, you shall read it, if you think fit; but you have no right to address insults to any one. (Hear! hear!) ('Moniteur,' 21st October, 1859.)

striven against by the defenders of the Holy Chair compared with what is now going on? It is no longer sought to place a limit upon his sovereign authority only, but it is his territory, the patrimony of the Church, which is not only disputed or threatened, but which is already divided and reduced by a third. No one had dreamed in 1848 of reducing or trenching upon that patrimony; no—no one, not even Austria, against whom Piedmont at that time charged it as a crime that she intended to occupy the Legations for her own benefit. And now, upon the instigation and the direct act of this same Piedmont, under the very eyes of a victorious French army, and as a *miserable result* of its victories,* the spoliation is consummated; its authors have the audacity to call upon Europe for its sanction, believing themselves already sure of that of France. With them and for them, under their banner and in their ranks, we see once more appear with the boldness and rejoicing of triumph those men with the ideas which everywhere arrested the regenerating movement of 1846, those who have everywhere sacrificed liberty to revolution, who have in all directions brought about the return of absolute power wherever it had been defeated, and even rendered it triumphant where it was till then unknown. We had overthrown them in 1848 and 1849 upon this very Roman question. Behold them once more believing themselves masters of the situation. They act, they speak, they lie the same as then, but placing themselves with ostentation under the protecting shadow of France. We find, once more, in their journals, in their decrees, in their acts, in the orations of their English and French defenders, the same insults, the same invectives, the same violence, the same implacable passions as ever, but with this cruel aggravation, that, instead of being, as then, refuted and repressed by the common effort of all the great partisans of order, they now believe they can rest upon the victories of

* Protest of the Bishop of Orleans, of the 30th September, 1859.

a French army and upon the policy of the Imperial Government.

The eloquent protest of the Bishop of Orleans leaves nothing to be said upon this great question in a religious point of view. We should but weaken by repeating them those generous accents which have thrilled in the heart of every Catholic and made their place in the history of our time. But the political bearing of the matter surely merits to be the object of the gravest consideration. It must not be allowed that it should be represented that this is a purely *clerical* interest or a purely religious right. That alone would have much weight, but there is another and a very different matter. The rights of nations are quite as much compromised as the rights of the Church. Justice is even more injured than the Faith. It is upon this footing that there are most important facts to state, principles to be remembered, astute and impudent sophistry to be refuted, and the part of each to be ascertained.

Indeed, it would be a rare time to offer a new apology, after so many others, for representative government.* Every one feels it, and many have even said that had there been in France and in Austria parliamentary government, the war in Italy would have been an impossibility. But every one is agreed that no change in the internal administration can bring about a change in the duties and the mission of France abroad. And that is the reason that, whatever may be its form of government, whatever hands may have the honour to grasp its banner and its sword, every French heart remains identified with her glory and partaker of her renown.

Thus it is with the actual responsibility of France in the Roman question, and more especially with regard to the insurrection of Romagna, that we have more particularly to deal.

* See the admirable letter of M. le Comte d'Haussonville to the Conseils Généraux in the 'Courrier du Dimanche.'

I say, the responsibility of France, and not of the Imperial Government only.

When a government is founded upon universal suffrage, when its chief has declared himself responsible to the people, the people become responsible to the world; they are responsible to Europe, to posterity, and to God for whatever that government does or permits. France then, at the present time, remains mistress of her destinies and responsible for her acts. This responsibility weighs on every conscience, at least on every conscience which does not feel itself relieved by the obstacles and protests tolerated by present legislation. We have just been solemnly assured that the discussion of all the acts of Government is free.* Let us then make use of that liberty within the limits prescribed by the law, to make known what alarms and afflicts us in this external policy of France, which, we repeat, is to us inseparable from that of the Government. It was France which preserved the temporal independence of the Holy See in 1849, and yet it is she who allows it to be shaken and diminished in 1859. Behold the fact, behold the truth, which the blind alone can deny!

Surely France is not alone upon the path, but her irresistible ascendancy forces her to the front and causes the great and supreme responsibility to recoil upon her. We know all the just and bitter reproaches deserved by Piedmont and England; but if France had willed it, Piedmont would not have dared to undertake anything against the

* "The Press in France is free to discuss all the acts of the Government, and thus enlighten public opinion." ('Moniteur' of the 18th September, 1859.)

"It is because it is the duty and wish of Government not to allow the principle of authority in its hands to be weakened, that it can only concede liberty of discussion with the restrictions commanded by respect for the constitution, by the legitimacy of the imperial dynasty, by the interest of order, of public morality, and of religion. Far from imposing servile approbation of its acts, it will always tolerate a substantial opposition." (Circulaire of M. le Duc de Padoue, Minister of the Interior, of the same day.)

Holy See, and England would have been thrown back for ever into her impotent hatred.

Let us go back to the origin of the evil, of the recent, the flagrant mischief. It dates more especially from the Congress of Paris in 1856, of that diplomatic reunion which, after having solemnly declared *that none of the contracting powers had the right to intermeddle, either collectively or singly, with the relations of a sovereign with his subjects* (Protocol of the 18th March),—after having proclaimed the principle of the absolute independence of the sovereign, to the advantage of the Sultan against his Christian subjects, assumed the power, in its Protocol of the 8th April, in the absence of any representative of the august accused, to proclaim that the situation of the Pontifical States was *abnormal and irregular*. That accusation, extended, aggravated, and exaggerated in debate and elsewhere by Lord Palmerston and Count Cavour, was none the less shaped under the direction and upon the initiative of the French Foreign Minister, and consequently it is France which mainly has to account for it to the Church and to Europe.

We can recollect the surprise and grief caused by this strange proceeding to every Catholic. We did not fail in our duty, and its reception marked our energetic protest against this attempt, so unjustly and cruelly made against the independence of the Pontifical sovereignty.*

We hoped, nevertheless, in common with all enlightened friends of order and the peace of Europe, that the natural consequences of the dangerous policy which then obtained its first victory would be turned aside. That expectation has been deceived. The able, but guilty, perseverance of Piedmontese policy having succeeded in bringing about a rupture between France and Austria, war, with all its perils and all the formidable uncertainties it would let loose, began in Italy. Friends and enemies of the Holy See

* 'Pius IX. and Lord Palmerston.'—See the 'Correspondant' of the 25th June, 1856.

saw, from the outset, the storm about to break over the Pontifical States, and that anticipation had, no doubt, considerable weight in the conflict of *interested misgivings** and passionate encouragements which marked the Imperial policy, which marked the various phases between the remark to M. Hübner on the 1st January, to the commencement of hostilities. The interested misgivings are very naturally explained by all those who trembled to find war reopen the too frail bandages which held together so many wounds still bleeding and scarcely scarred over.

However, apprehension was soothed by the solemn word of the Minister specially charged with the ministry of the State and the Church, stating, in the name of the Emperor and the French episcopacy, "The Prince who restored the Holy Father to the Vatican desires that the Head of the Church should be respected in *all* his rights as a temporal monarch." But they were destined to return with renewed intensity in the midst of the first flush of victory, when, the Austrian columns defeated and humbled, and already in full retreat upon the Adige, there appeared the proclamation dated from Milan, the 8th June, calling all Italians to arms.

"Italians! . . . Providence sometimes favours nations as well as individuals, by affording them the opportunity of sudden aggrandisement, but upon one condition—that they know how to profit by it. Avail yourselves of the fortune which presents itself. Your longing for independence—so long expressed, so often deceived—will be realized, if you show yourselves deserving. Unite, then, with a single aim—the enfranchisement of your country. Complete your military organization. Flock to the banners of King Victor Emmanuel, who has already so nobly pointed out the path of honour. Recollect that without discipline no army can exist; and, inspired by

* This is the expression in the speech of the Emperor, at the opening of the Legislative Body, the 6th February, 1856.

"the sacred love of country, be today only soldiers, that you may hereafter become the free citizens of a great country!"

The Romagnese took him at his word. Four days after this proclamation they revolted against the pontifical authority, and declared they would no longer own allegiance to any but Victor Emmanuel. We know what rapid and progressive steps followed this insurrection, and how—equally inspired by the Roman Constituency of 1849 and the example of their neighbours in 1835—they in succession created a Provisional Government, convoked a sovereign Assembly, voted the dethronement of the Pope, then the annexation to Piedmont; how, ultimately finding their boldest steps met with impunity, they organized an armed League, under Piedmontese officers and the command of Garibaldi—the same Garibaldi who, conquered by our soldiers at Rome ten years since, now strives, by our recent and bloody victories, to make an end, according to one of his latest orations, of *clerical despotism*.

A single French battalion despatched from Rome to Bologna immediately after the departure of the Austrians, and more particularly after the preliminaries at Villafranca, would most assuredly have sufficed to have kept down this flagrant violation of the public law of Christendom. All the motives which in 1849 were in favour of the expedition to Rome, were equally in existence in 1859 for the occupation of Bologna; but with this material difference—that none of the grave obstacles which then had to be surmounted, either externally or internally, stood in the way of French mediation or protection. Even now, although the position has been undoubtedly aggravated by three months' uncertainty and impunity—even now a word, a single word, pronounced in the name of France, would put an end to this disorder.

But this word is not spoken, it is not to be found in the speech of the Emperor to the Archbishop of Bordeaux;

and Revolution, triumphant, already demands that Europe shall sanction her work. We ought to hope, and even to the last moment we will hope, that this silence will have an end. But when it is thoroughly shown that all hope is at an end, and every illusion impossible, France must be taught that she can only attribute to herself all the calamities and scandals which may follow. Great nations—and this can hardly be too often repeated—are responsible not only for what they do, but for what they suffer to be done under the shelter of their flag and the provocation of their influence. Once again, it is this war carried by France into Italy that will have brought about the destruction of the temporal authority of the Pope in a third of his territories, and the irreparable disorder of the remainder. The eldest daughter of the Church will remain accountable for it to the present as to history, to Europe as to God. She will not be allowed to pretend innocence, and to wipe her mouth like the adulteress of the Scriptures, *quæ tergens os suum dicit, non sum operata malum*.

But it may be said, do you pretend that France, or any other Catholic power, is obliged to fly to the succour of the Holy Father, and to replace him in the exercise of his authority *unconditionally*? Has she not, on the contrary, the right to say to the Pope, If you wish me to replace you in Bologna and to continue to defend Rome, follow my advice, or else get out of the matter without me?

I reply without equivocation to that objection: Yes, that language would be possible, and up to a certain point legitimate, if, in the first place, the insurrection of Bologna had been totally independent of French policy, and had not been the immediate result of the war in Italy; if, moreover, the French Government had not pledged itself publicly and solemnly to guarantee the Pope against all consequences of the war. But in passing the Alps to change at the sword's point the political condition of Italy, the Empire became responsible for all these changes, whatever they

might be. It is entitled to boast of whatever is good and durable; it is bound to prevent or repair whatever misfortune it may entail. Thus, the Republic of 1848, from the very moment it was directed by men of sense and honesty, understood instinctively that it had more special and imperious obligations towards the Papacy than the France of Louis Philippe. And why? Because it was the Revolution of February, and the overthrow of constitutional royalty, which had led in Rome to explosion and revolt and to the ingratitude towards the Pontiff, the author of the amnesty and the Constitutional Statute.

Moreover, international law imposes upon civilized belligerent powers special obligations with regard to neutral powers. It is unheard of, it is against all sense, that neutrals should be the victims of the policy of the belligerents. As the Pope was neuter in the last war, he cannot be asked to fill another position; that was the only one at once suited to his dignity, his heart, his mission. Did he conscientiously fulfil that position? No one can deny it. He observed the most perfect, the most impartial neutrality; he showed it most substantially by protesting against the extension of the Austrian lines at Ancona. And what is his reward? It is delivering him defenceless to his enemies, who falsely attribute to him as a public wrong his alliance with Austria.*

But England! but Piedmont! These are, according to some persons, the real, the great, the principal criminals. I believe nothing of the kind.

As for England, I admit without difficulty all the accusations alleged against her for the part she has played in Italy. More than once I have thought it right to express in these pages the embarrassment and the annoyance one feels in speaking the truth on the faults and vices of England, for fear of being confounded (at a period when the

* See the memorandum of M. Leonello Cipriani, Governor-general of Romagna, the 3rd October, 1859.

art of confounding is very willingly practised) with her stupid and brawling detractors, who attack in her only liberty, dignity, and political vitality, and who believe they defend Catholicism by maintaining that people are more happy, more proud, and *more free* in Naples than in London, simply because they work less at the foot of Mount Vesuvius than on the banks of the Thames! But one has less pain in overcoming this embarrassment and this annoyance when he is, what I am, and when he remains, the sincere friend and passionate admirer—I have perhaps the right to say the well-known *confessor*—of the manly virtues and glorious institutions which have placed England in the high position she occupies. She must take care not to fall from that height.

She will assuredly not long remain on it if she continue to follow in the affairs of Europe the tortuous and immoral policy which characterizes her attempts at action in Italy:—first doing her utmost to prevent the war; taking, when war is once declared, no part direct or indirect in it; but the moment peace is made, intervening with an arrogance and a persistence which the noblest sacrifices on her part would hardly justify; intervening in order to envenom all the difficulties and to increase all the dangers,—*such a part has but one name—it is ignoble!* It is true that between the sensible and honourable despatches of Lord Malmesbury before the opening of the war, and the recent harangue of Lord John Russell at Aberdeen, a change of Ministry took place. Twenty-one Catholic members for Ireland, disposing of the majority in a new Parliament, had, at the most critical moment for the Papacy, the clever notion of transferring the power from the hands of Lord Derby and a Ministry essentially conservative, moderate, and full of goodwill towards the Catholics, to those of Lord Palmerston, whom every one knows, and Lord John Russell, who distinguished himself among all the statesmen of England by the violence of his invectives against the religion which is

professed by 150 millions of Christians and 10 millions of British subjects; and of Mr. Gladstone, who, I regret to say, placed himself by his last tirade against Pius IX. on a level with Lord John. But, as has been already observed with respect to France, nations are, and continue to be, participators of the foreign policy of their Governments. Whatever be the changes that have occurred in the English Ministry, all England bears, and will bear, the moral responsibility of the subterfuges, the perfidy, and the violence of her leaders. England is alarmed at her isolated and menaced condition in contemporaneous Europe. She has reason for her alarm. In spite of the heroism displayed by her children against the insurgents of India, she feels instinctively that the days of Nelson and of Wellington, of Burke and of Chatham, have passed away, and she deplures it. She would do better to deplore the gradual destruction of public and social spirit which produced her great men. But a day will come, perhaps soon, but ever too soon for the friends of liberty and civilization, when she will find what matchless folly she has committed in arraying against her, with all the animosities, all the rancour, all the jealousy which she excites, and which she aggravates every day, the just resentment and the filial anguish of 100,000,000 of Catholics.

Meanwhile it is not in Italy that her destinies will be decided, and she will never exercise a decisive action upon the destinies of Italy. Moreover she is not a Catholic Power; she has no exceptional obligation to, no direct engagement with the Holy See. Her part is dangerous and culpable; but it is only subordinate.

As to Piedmont, there is too much to be said. Enough is known of what we think of her. Full of sympathy for the great and noble mission which Charles Albert assigned to his house and people by the establishment of a liberal and enlightened government in upper Italy, we have seen with bitter regret that noble country exchange its patient

and laborious task, so fruitful and so pure, as a moral and intellectual guide, for that of a greedy and impatient adventurer who grasps at everything, and who, instead of heeding or respecting transmitted or acquired rights, blindly and obstinately attacks the greatest moral power in Italy and the world. Even while rendering justice to the military virtues of the King Victor Emmanuel, who offers the spectacle, so rare among the sovereigns of olden stock, of a man and a soldier on the throne, we have groaned with every true friend of Italy and of Piedmont at this systematic war she has waged against the Church in despite of the express wish of the King Charles Albert, of the protests of Cæsar Balbo, and its best advisers. We have felt indignant at the detestable example set by this constitutional country, in declaring that the guarantees of a representative *régime* were incompatible with war,—in handing over to dictatorship the task of inaugurating the conquests of liberty,—in maintaining even after peace that arbitrary despotism hardly known in Russia itself, and which does not tolerate the expression of a single idea contrary to the ruling passion.* But after all, Piedmont, which could do nothing against Austria without France, could do nothing against the Holy See unless France sanctioned it.

* To relieve the reader for a moment in the midst of these sad details, we will submit to him the following extract from the 'Siècle' of the 16th October, as a further proof of the enlightened regard of all the French and Italian revolutionists to really liberal institutions:—

"Turin, 13th October.

"You know that the Ministry has taken the responsibility of a great determination, that of reforming all the legislation of the ancient States of the King of Sardinia, and of adapting it with all necessary alterations to the annexed provinces of Lombardy before the re-assembling of the Chambers.

"Just now they are bestowing much labour upon this vast enterprise, and they are casting all in the same crucible: codes, electoral laws, departmental laws, communal laws, the organization of the Council of State and of the Court of Accounts, of the administration, of the Customs, of mines, of public works, of forest laws, of judicial organization, of the organic laws of public instruction and financial organization, all will come out of the

The question remains, then, entirely concentrated between France, the Holy See, and the insurrection of Romagna; for, if it be shown that France is in conscience and in honour bound to preserve the integrity of the patrimony of the Holy See, we are not among those who will ever admit that Europe can prevent France from doing her duty. "*Europe cannot permit,*" we are told, "*the French occupation to be prolonged.*"* Ah! if such an expression had been uttered under Louis Philippe, or by him, what clamours would not have resounded throughout the whole democratic and revolutionary camp! Nowadays people do not limit themselves to a tacit assent, they applaud vociferously. It is true that the question is not to permit France to defend the Pope; and so, in the eyes of these proud patriots, of these intrepid champions of liberal progress, all is well and all is legitimate.

Let us consider Romagna detached from the patrimony of the Church. After all, we are told, that patrimony will only be reduced a third, and the Treaty of Tolentino took away even more, without the Pope, for all that, ceasing to be a temporal prince. What an epoch and what an ex-

same mould, all will flow from the same source, and these laws will bear the impress of the period of the national mind which dictates them, and of the most admirable unity.

"I can assure you that the country is much pleased with the courage of its Government, and that no one in Piedmont or in Italy dreams of making a grievance of the wish to explain the liberal principles of the constitution harmoniously in all branches of legislation, political, civil, commercial, administrative, etc. etc., by saving it from the contradictions, the meddling, the infinite delays, of the suggestions which would arise out of parliamentary discussions.

"Is it intended to say that the Italians do not care for parliamentary rule, although well governed? ON THE CONTRARY, they love this rule; they are exceedingly jealous of it; for to this they are indebted for the development of their liberty, for the height to which they have raised the national flag, and for the moral conquests which Piedmont has just made in Italy. Moreover, the initiative taken by the Government in nowise restricts the constitutional right of Parliament."

* Words spoken by the Emperor on his late visit to Bordeaux.

ample to cite! I do not doubt that that treaty was accursed by all who, in 1797, preserved Catholic hearts. Moreover, did the cession of Ferrara, of Ravenna, and Bologna, save Rome? Did it save Pius VI. from dying at Valencia, Pius VII. from being dragged in captivity to Savona and to Fontainebleau? Has not dismemberment still brought about dismemberment? Moreover, what a difference between the situation and the consequences which accompanied the present and the past dismemberment! The Treaty of Tolentino was the effect of a victorious revolution; it was imposed by an avowed enemy, not by the hand of friendship; by a nation which professed and practised war on religion and monarchs, not by a protecting power become, thank Heaven, the eldest daughter of the Church. Moreover, it was the fortune of war, the right of might, the ancient custom of conquerors. We admit and accept that position. Now it is very different: it is not the right of might, it is a new principle sought to be inaugurated,—the principle that abuses, more or less proved against a government, render its continuation illegal; and, moreover, that ecclesiastical sovereignty is incompatible with modern civilization. It is a principle which applies equally to what is left and to what is taken away. It is a theory that, once sanctioned, will become irresistible, and of which no one could arrest the contagion. Already Bologna appeals to Umbria and the Marches, and its deputies have recommended it to the touching solicitude of the King of Sardinia. Florence tomorrow will appeal to Perugia already ensanguined by its emissaries. What reason could be alleged to the people of Ancona, of Spoleto, of Fermo, of Foligno, to induce them to submit to a yoke recognized as intolerable from Ravenna to Rimini? Let us see. What? I defy any one to find one which has even the semblance of plausibility. It has been insultingly said, You must leave the Pope the Vatican and a garden. Why the garden, if it be inhabited by men, by Italians, to whom we have conceded

that their human and national dignity is outraged by the Pontifical domination? Why should Rome be thus placed out of the pale of the law? And since 1859 places triumphant at Bologna the pretended right which 1849 de-throned in Rome, why should not Rome take back that right in triumph?

It is not a question of measuring the extent of the territory given or left to the Pope, it is the very foundation of his temporal principality that is being undermined. It is not a reform, either asked or sanctioned, it is the general and permanent right of insurrection, that we are asked to sanction also against him. Behold the true, the only ground of the discussion!

To speak to the modern world, to the political and intellectual powers that govern it, the language of interest, or of an exclusively Catholic right, on a political question, is an ungrateful and often a useless task. We can neither touch nor convince those who do not admit even the leading point of their contradictor, and who ignore or reject all the bases which he gives to his conviction. If we desire to escape the only arguments which affect the crowd, the sad necessity of invoking or of undergoing by turns the brutal arguments of the strongest, we are necessarily led to seek a region where we can treat with those who partake neither our belief nor our affections. We must invite them to follow us, or we must precede them on ground where they shall encounter only those great laws of justice, morality, and honour which every honest man, every man of honour, is bound to respect and to proclaim. We must rise with them to those principles of natural equity which a young and sincere Republican has so well named the "*right of parties*." These principles we must not only profess when vanquished and in a minority; we must know how to maintain them and avow them, especially when we are the strongest. We never have been and we do not desire to be the strongest; but we hold invincibly to employing only those arguments

which we may never have to disavow, and which may be of use to us in either condition.

The question is by no means to break with modern society. The question is not to deny or criticize the independence of the civil power, the essential distinction between the spiritual and temporal which serves as the basis of the social organization of Europe. The question merely is to know if that principle is so absolute as to make it triumph everywhere, always, and to the disregard of every other principle and every other right; if that object is so sacred that it has to be attained by every means, even by those reproved by justice and by honour, the question is to argue upon the conditions which may permit a people to change and to overthrow their Government. We have never thought that it was necessary to profess the dogma of the inamissibility of power, to believe in the exclusive rights of princes over peoples, to regard the destiny of nations as indissolubly bound to certain races or to a certain order of succession.

It may be, on the contrary, asserted, and for my part I have ever professed the doctrine, that the majority of the states of modern Europe, Sweden, England, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Greece, have consecrated by their example that of national sovereignty and the consent of the people to the Government which rules them. But there is a wide distinction between that and admitting, with the revolutionists, that this consent, once directly or by implication given, can be constantly brought into question or withdrawn without the gravest motives; that all the States in the world should be without exception cast in the same mould; and to arrive at the conclusion that a people may have the right of changing its Government as often as it may think fit, and that every insurrection must be legitimate, simply because it is an insurrection.

Let us abandon theory for practice, and let us address ourselves to all the non-revolutionary *Liberals*. I comprise

under this denomination all those who deplore the consequences of the revolution of February, 1848. They saw a Government which, in spite of all its wrongs (towards us particularly), was essentially honest and moderate, which had never violated a single law, or furnished the least pretext for an armed insurrection; they saw it gradually undermined by calumny and crumble under the blows of a riot. They have seen how a legal opposition, sincere and loyal on the part of most of its members, could be turned to account and abused by passions which they did not share. They have seen lastly how that riot, suddenly transformed into a revolution, had been, on the morrow of its triumph, crowned apparently by the unanimous decision of a startled nation, faithless to its rights as to its duties, and passively borne along by contagion and fear. After such a lesson, how can they believe that insurrections are legitimate? and how is it they have not learned to distrust these so-called national manifestations provoked by Provisional Governments and sanctioned by appeals to universal suffrage?

Let them recollect their own sentiments the day after the catastrophe! Let them recall the repugnance of their conscience, their reason, their hearts against the blind triumphs of force, against the servile enthusiasm of the mob, and that they no longer come from the height of their indifference or the depth of their moral complicity, with any conquerors whatever, to reproach us when the sentiment of filial grief bursts from our hearts, for not preserving the perfect equilibrium and the gentle calm of the worshipers of victory.

No, no, it is not sufficient to recognize that a people has the right to have a will, and to express it; it is further requisite that such people should be in the right, that its desire should be just, and that its expression should be justified by necessity or social utility: otherwise we fall back upon the savage dogma of Rousseau—*it is unnecessary for the people to be in the right.*

Have the people of Romagna any reason to revolt against the pontifical dominion? We there have the whole question on their part and on ours. Had that insurrection sufficient foundation, in right and in fact, so that France, whose policy and victories furnished the pretext and opportunity of revolt, is bound to allow it to triumph, in despite of another title founded upon every rule of good faith and diplomacy, justified by the soundest political reasons, and consecrated by the most secular traditions of our history?

I ask of God the grace of being able to set aside all false and exaggerated arguments. My experience in public debates has taught me that a bad argument employed by a friend does ten times more injury to the cause which this friend wishes to support, than the best arguments employed by its adversaries. I will not therefore say that the temporal institutions of the Roman States are superior to all modern institutions, or that the general well-being of the Pope's subjects is far superior or equal to that of all people in the world. Even at Rome, where we have always observed much prudence and moderation in political considerations, such amplifications would raise a smile.

Are matters worse at Rome than elsewhere? That is the whole question. Are they in so bad a condition that the sovereign should be overthrown by the efforts of the people in revolt, excited by Piedmont, guaranteed against all repression by France, and absolved in anticipation by Europe?

That would certainly be strange reaction here below. The most inoffensive of all monarchies, the only one which for three centuries has never encroached upon its neighbours, never disturbed Europe by its claims, never alarmed or injured any one,—against which not a single State, near or distant, has the slightest complaint to make,—is to be put out of the pale of international law!

"The Popes," says M. de Maistre, "may have asserted too strongly in other days the universal suzerainty which a

not less universal opinion did not deny them. They may, if you will, have exacted homage and have imposed taxes too arbitrarily, etc., but it has ever been admitted that they never sought to seize an opportunity of augmenting their States at the cost of justice; while no other sovereign has escaped from that reproach, and at the present moment, with all our philosophy, our civilization, and our splendid books, there is hardly a European power able to justify all its possessions before God or before reason."

This comparison, wonderfully truthful in all that relates to the monarchies, is none the less applicable to the monarchs. I never flattered any one, not even the unfortunate, not even the noble anguish of the exile. I will even say, by the way, this puerile adulation,* this frivolous enthusiasm which is now found to exist in so many religious writers whenever a pontiff or a prince of the Church is the subject, is profoundly repulsive to me; I do not find the least trace of it in the great eras of the Faith, in the great literature of the Fathers and the Saints. I will refrain then, as from an insult or a blunder, from all flattery of Pius IX. But the strictest justice compels us to acknowledge that the Pope, whose yoke the Romagnese pronounce insupportable, does not yield the palm of virtue to either of the sovereigns of Europe, and that, after having been the most popular prince of his time, he has remained the most irreproachable one.

What oath has he violated? What constitution has he abolished? What blood has he shed? What property has he confiscated? What snare has he laid? What falsehood has he uttered?* Whom on earth has he deceived or persecuted? He amnesty without exception all the old enemies of the Holy See; they repaid him by

* We remember the noble words of Cardinal Consalvi, premier of Pius VII.:—"A lying existence is the habitual life of courts. But a lie in Rome would ruin an entire reign. Another Pope would be an immediate necessity."—*Artaud, History of Leo XII.*, vol. i. p. 167.

dethroning him for the first time. What liberty has he destroyed? He had granted all to his people with a liberality which we must not cease to bless, though it appeared imprudent to many. They made use of it to assassinate his minister, to besiege him in his palace, to force him into flight, to declare him deposed from his throne. Finally, what baseness has he committed? He is the only sovereign in Europe who has seen his capital occupied for ten years by friendly but foreign troops; therefore I ask of the most fastidious and the most disdainful, what prince has maintained, during these ten years, an attitude more noble, more calm, and more dignified?

Of all the wrongs charged by the Italians against other princes, can a single one, with even the shadow of justice, be imputed to Pius IX.? Not one. Is he a tyrant? No. Not one among the most inveterate of his adversaries dare to assert it. Has he taken flight? No. Is he a usurper? No. Is he a foreigner? No. He is the most Italian, the only one who is thoroughly Italian, among the princes of the Peninsula; how much more Italian, by descent at least, than this House of Savoy, which plunders him in the name of Italy! Some have ventured to talk of his Austrian sympathies; at least it must be admitted that if he possessed them, strange means have been adopted to convert him. But is there any proof of these sympathies?—After having, as far as he could, aided the Italian movement of 1847; after having even exhorted Austria to withdraw from Italy, he declined declaring war against her in spite of the endeavours of Father Ventura and other courtiers of force and popularity; and he was most thoroughly right, for to have done so would have been a breach of his duty as father to all the faithful.

In 1859, his neutrality only was demanded, and he observed that neutrality most rigorously. But he himself, by an inspiration of honour and pride worthy of another age, had demanded that the French and Austrian troops

should simultaneously quit his territories; and that was before war was declared, and before the people had been driven into revolution.

Finally, what is his crime? He has one, only one,—he is a priest. That sums all. These proud inhabitants of Romagna, so docile and submissive to the House of Este, and to I know not how many other petty tyrants of the Middle Ages, these dauntless patriots who invoke so proudly the recent souvenirs of the Italian kingdom, created, inspired, and governed by a foreign Power, will no longer obey the oldest, the most venerable, and the *most Italian* sovereignty of Europe, because that sovereign is a priest. This is their idea, their fantasy, their mode of understanding the rights of man and of the people. And they find an echo and support, throughout Europe, in all those revolutionizers who in 1848 and 1849 were vanquished and repressed, and who long that, as their first revenge, this priestly supremacy should be dethroned and reduced from sovereign rank to that of a subject or a slave.

But since when has it sufficed, to acquire the right of rising in insurrection, of upsetting their own country and Europe, that they are not governed to their fancy, and to follow as their sole guide their preferences or discontents?

Do the inhabitants of Romagna imagine forsooth that they are the sole malcontents in the world? Who is not acquainted with a number of persons as discontented as any Bolognese whatever? But in what state would Europe be if every malcontent followed their example?

To admit such a social right, to recognize it, to allow it to be asserted with impunity, would be to inaugurate the reign of disorder and demoralization; it would be to condemn Europe to the fate of Central America, where every fortnight gives birth to a new government; where every General who can collect a following of 1,500 men, and invent or warm up a programme of opposition, aspires

successfully to demolish and replace the government of his country. It is for such selfish follies, for such unruly caprices, and such criminal and homicidal recklessness, that God prepares the most bitter and merited disappointment. It is for them that he reserves the most cruel and degrading punishment for a civilized nation, the despotism of the sword.

Democracy, revolution, even when successful, is a hundred times more prompt and vigorous than a monarchy in providing against all attempt at revolt or disunion, however legitimate or deserved. Woe to him who, when she is once mistress, dare deny her the plenitude of absolute power! The Convention taught heroic La Vendée the cost of claiming the simple rights of conscience, which had been outraged by the omnipotence of the State; and even in our days, the radical cantons of Switzerland have revived that lesson against the primitive cantons, the cradle of Helvetic liberty, which have been mercilessly crushed and fined for seeking to maintain their secular independence.

But how, will it be said, do you dare deny perchance the necessity of reforms in the Roman States? I shall venture to do no such thing. I have no doubt that there is need, and great need, of reforms at Rome as elsewhere. Only I do not exactly understand, and no one in France knows very well, what reforms are required, what are conceded, what are refused, what have already been granted, and what are about to be carried out. No one defines them, no one discusses them, and, in fact, no one takes any interest in them. Of the four reforms laid down in the letter to M. Edgard Ney, there is one, the *general amnesty*, already carried out, and utterly inefficacious; another, a *liberal government*,* the meaning of which has

* All the discussions of 1849 prove that by these words was understood a kind of parliamentary government, with one or two assemblies, like those Pius IX. created in 1848. But France can scarcely ask the Pope for what she has abolished at home.

evidently changed since then, and which awaits a new interpretation. There remain the two last, *secular administration*,—which can hardly extend to the suppression of the Pope and the Cardinals,—and, lastly, *the Code Napoléon*. We have never been told, except as to what relates to divorce and civil marriage, in what respect this code, which is exclusively a civil code, differs from the civil law which the Rome of the Popes has borrowed from the Rome of the Emperors. The most learned, in speaking of it, seem to confound it with our codes of civil and criminal procedure.

But even admitting all these reforms to be necessary, legitimate, and possible, is Romagna the only country requiring them? All countries require reforms, and all are asking for them.

In England, reform is the constant war-cry of every party. In Austria, in Prussia, throughout the whole Germanic Confederation, there must be urgent and radical reforms. This desire, this want, is universal, and I willingly believe that it is everywhere legitimate; but where, except in the Roman States, has it been sought to turn it into the dispossession—into the destruction of the sovereign power? Where has it been proposed to rely on invasion or foreign rule to exercise it? Nowhere, unless it be in the Roman States, to the detriment of the Pope, and that, too, only three years after a sanguinary war, entered into solely to chastise Russia for having sought to introduce, by an abuse of its influence, reforms favourable to the Christian subjects of the Turk.

Moreover, let us be honest, and go to the root of the subject. Is there a thinking man who believes that any reforms whatever would content or disarm a single one of the enemies, internal or external, of the Holy See? Is it not a cruel mockery to seek to draw from the Pope concessions which, even in anticipation, are flung back in his teeth? Who does not know that the dominant party, the Piedmontese party in Romagna, fans and lightens up

against the Pope the same spirit as that which animates, for very different reasons, Venice against Austria? Have not the popular Venetian organs solemnly declared that any reform, any concessions, any benefit, emanating from Austria, will be impotent to calm or influence popular feeling? *No Austria!* say they; that is our only programme. *No Pope!* is the true, the only programme of the revolutionists in Romagna, as elsewhere. Legislative or administrative ameliorations have nothing to do with it. No more now than in 1848; that is not what is wanted.

In 1848, Pius IX. gave or prepared all. Which of them restrained Mazzini or disarmed Garibaldi? The same men are now again all-powerful. They have neither changed their bearing or programme. Those who, out of regard for the factitious scruples of diplomacy, yet conceal the real and whole end they aim at, are fully aware that they deceive no one, and that all who listen to them and support them are accomplices. This end is avowed by the more candid, and is the only one which rouses and animates the more intelligent directors of the movement in Italy as in France. Their aim is the total destruction of the sovereignty of the Pope; firstly, because he is the Pope, and finally, because he is the insurmountable obstacle to the union of Italy under a single master.

It is to this chimera of Italian unity, with Rome as its capital, that the chiefs and partisans of the Piedmontese movement in Romagna invincibly tend. It is to this fatal chimera, as repugnant to the true policy of France, as contrary to the past glories of Italy, and to the moral, intellectual, and social interest of its peoples, that are sacrificed, sacred rights guaranteed equally by the faith of treaties, and by our best traditions. And for this all will be, more or less, voluntarily accomplices who, pressing, harassing, weakening, or oppressing the liberty of the Holy See, and who exacting from it, under the shock of a victorious insurrection, concessions rejected beforehand,

place it between the shame of yielding up everything, or of suffering the worst.

God preserve us from wishing to wound those honest and sincere but deluded people who have seen in the war in Italy the work of liberal emancipation! We give them credit for their hopes and their illusions; we do not confound them with those imbecile or guilty revolutionists who have substituted an impious enterprise and an insoluble question to the great and legitimate cause of Italian independence.

But we must declare that, if Italy had really understood her mission and her glory; if, instead of decreeing a statue to cunning, to falsehood, to political depravity, personified in Machiavelli,* she had remained faithful to the inspirations of the Foscolos, the Manzoni, and the Balbos, the true originators of her modern patriotism, she should first of all have set apart, as beyond all question, the twofold majesty of the Holy See.

It was a compulsory homage, a debt of honour and of conscience, of justice and of gratitude to Pius IX., to him who, as early as 1846, gave the glorious signal of reform and emancipation, who was acknowledged even in November, 1848, as the promoter of the resurrection of Italy,† and who only stopped at a revolution inaugurated by assassination. Then it might have acquired the sympathies of the whole world; every generous soul, every right mind, every honest heart, would have followed in the track of its victories, its success, its emancipation. But alas, borne away by perverse ambition or blind illusions, it did not fear to enlist against it everything which more or less clings to the Catholic faith. It intimidated, saddened, and detached from its cause those whose adhesion would have been at once its succour and its honour.

* It is known that the Tuscan Government has just decided that statues shall be erected to Machiavelli as well as to the Emperor Napoleon III. and King Victor Emmanuel.

† Speech of M. Bixio, 'Moniteur,' 29th November, 1848.

She has given herself up unreservedly to those who profess and who practise, not, it must be said and repeated a thousand times, hatred for any particular abuse, or even for any particular faith, but hatred and systematic and utter contempt for the most profound, the most enduring sentiment which the human race have ever yet known—the Catholic sentiment.

Even of those who, out of regard for revolution or any other motive, insist that France and Europe shall sanction the revolt of Romagna, it has been incessantly demanded—and it must be demanded again and again—why do you apply to this province a right the application of which is so obstinately refused in all the other States of Europe? Hence the arguments, the examples, the proofs of the inconsistency of the revolutionary theory, and its self-contradictions are innumerable. They run glibly under the pen. Twenty years ago two Belgian provinces, Luxemburg and Limburg, refused to be separated from Belgium and to be incorporated with Holland to suit the requirements of diplomacy. They had in support of their cause the best reasons—religious, political, and historical.* Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, then, as now Ministers of the nation which pretends everywhere to respect and promote the triumph of the wishes of the populations, mocked the complaints and the repugnance of these fragments of a people. Ten years back the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig rose in insurrection against Denmark; and at this moment no man doubts that the people of those Duchies, almost exclusively German, ardently desire to be detached from the Scandinavian kingdom. Republican France, and England, have refused to recognize their rights, and have sacrificed them to what they regard as one of the conditions of the balance of power in Europe.

Ten years ago England, having Lord Palmerston and

* See Letter of the Count Félix de Mérode to Lord Palmerston, and the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' of July 15 and August 15, 1858.

Lord John Russell for her Ministers, repressed with implacable severity the simple appearance of revolt in the Ionian Islands, where religion, habits, traditions, interests, language,—everything, in a word, without exception, is repugnant to British domination! and it is England which now dares, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, to press down with all the force of her iniquitous partiality the balance in which are weighed wrongs a hundredfold less weighty, repugnance a thousand times less legitimate, than that which she has drowned in blood at Corfu.

Sixty years ago she did worse still—she repressed the revolt in Ireland with a ferocity worthy of the Convention.*

I am not one of those blind volunteers who confound the present condition of Ireland with what it was in 1798. I believe that Ireland would gain nothing in any respect by separation from the British Empire; but I abhor the politicians who employ two sets of weights and measures, and I affirm with all Europe, which knows it well without daring to say so, that there is not a single one of the arguments invented, dealt in, and exaggerated by English journalists and orators against the Pontifical Government in Romagna, which could not be, and which is not every day, retorted by the patriots and Catholics against English domination in Ireland. Doubtless, logic does not always govern politics: happily, it is not everything in the world; but, happily, also, it is something. And assuredly it will not be permitted to this illustrious nation, so wofully led astray, to heap with impunity one upon the other all these flagrant, repeated, and impudent violations of the rules of logic, which are in this instance identical with those of morality and humanity, of Divine justice, and public shame.

And the East, and all those Christian populations groaning under the ignominious yoke of the Sultan,—all those

* See also the documents relating to the insurrection of 1798, and especially the correspondence of the Lord Lieutenant Lord Cornwallis, recently published.

races so intelligent, so unfortunate, so forsaken, and so basely abused by a decrepit barbarism, and who are forbidden in the name of European equilibrium to seek protection, and emancipation, where they hoped to find it; who thinks of them? who has seriously sought to put the hand to that work, especially in England, so eager to upset Italy?

And Savoy! She is there, at our very doors; every one knows her, visits her, traverses her.

Who therefore has met, within the last few years, with the exception of salaried clerks, a single partisan of Piedmontese domination? Is that a sufficient reason for Europe to pull down the ancient edifice of its kings? I say, No; but you should say, Yes;—you who support and foment the much less unanimous discontent in Romagna: nevertheless you are unanimous in disdaining, in condemning, or denying the sincerity of her wishes and the intensity of her anguish.

Take Poland, the greatest and the most illustrious of oppressed and suppressed nationalities, Poland, formerly so warmly exploited by the Liberals of every country and every shade. In what respect has her fate been ameliorated? How has her life been rekindled? How has eternal justice, outraged by the assassination of a people, been appeased? In no respect. Nevertheless, you are all silent; and as if your silence did not suffice to confound you, behold Russia advances, smiling under her new mask of philanthropy and of liberalism. Behold her offering her hand, upon which the blood of Poland is not yet dry, and you accept it. Behold her,—her, so expert with respect to the salvation of nationalities, of liberty restored, of faith respected, who comes to ask of Austria an account of Italian nationality, and of the Pope, of the civil and religious liberty of the Romagnese. And I am still seeking the democratic writer who in the name of his conscience, or of his indignant recollections, has dared to throw aside such an auxiliary.

We know the answer stammered out to these irrefutable recriminations. Yonder, it is said, in the East, in Poland, in Ireland, a thousand difficulties oppose our work; our connections, our momentary sympathies restrain us; we cannot do all we could wish. But here in Romagna, against an old priest, without soldiers and without money, we can do anything we please.

Can you? Are you sure? Materially, yes; but morally, no; for you ought not; and if you are deaf to the voice of duty, may others, more enlightened and more conscientious than you, not always be so to the voice of interest!

What interest can any power, whether conservative or liberal, monarchical or republican, find to arm against itself the unanimous animadversion of the Catholics of the whole world. It may be said, it is of no consequence. But it is of some consequence. No intelligent Sovereign, no considerate politician, can look with indifference on the dissatisfaction of a powerful opinion spread over the surface of the globe; therefore the most hostile minds, as well as the most superficial, cannot deny that the true Catholics still constitute a great and powerful opinion in the world, and this opinion is unanimous. On politics, on philosophy, on history, Catholics are decidedly and happily divided; I say happily, for division is better than union in that which is false and in that which is base; but they are unanimous in favour of the Pontifical right; unanimous in considering any injury done to their Father as the greatest insult that could be inflicted on themselves. On this there are not three opinions; there are not two; there is but one. Exceptions, if there be any, form the rule. I defy any one to find amongst us one dissentient in a thousand. Catholics do not confound, as they are falsely accused of doing, the temporal with the spiritual; but all believe in the necessity of the temporal power of the Pope for the spiritual independence of the Catholic world. In

that they do not see a dogma, an article of faith; they see simply a right, human if you will, and submitted to the uncertainties of human things; but still providential, sacred, and legitimate amongst all. They see an indispensable guarantee which nothing else can replace, and which is for them all which was afforded by the ancient organization of society, where the spiritual power had a thousand bulwarks, a thousand citadels, a thousand privileges which no longer exist. No one seeks them, no one regrets them; but their destruction renders the entire integrity of Pontifical independence the more necessary for the security and dignity of the faith. Is there any other way so that the supreme Pontiff of the Catholic faith should not be treated as the 'Siècle' wishes us to treat our bishops, so that no one should come to say to them in the name of democracy, Hold your tongue, you are but a paid agent. Is there in the state of European society, a combination or organization which could replace the Catholic faith and the indispensable independence of their Father, and guarantee the temporal sovereignty of the Pope? No one has ever thought of it; no one has ever discovered it. It is neither the mandates nor the councils where it is spoken of; it is the unanimous voice of conscientious statesmen, who have thought on great political and social interests. There is not one who would not say with M. Odilon Barrot, then President of the Council, in the memorable discussion which we have already cited, "The two powers must be confounded in the Roman States, so that they should remain separate for the rest of the world."*

When we do not require Catholicism; when we regard the Church as the enemy of the human race, and the clergy as a criminal which must be *stifled in the mire*, there is nothing more easy or more logical than to attack that which is the foundation-stone of the exterior and temporal organization of Catholicism; but there is nothing

* 'Moniteur' of the 21st October, 1849.

less intelligible or more culpable, when we understand and when we proclaim the value and the social necessity of religion.

It must not be sought to represent that it is only a Romagnese question, that is to say, of a portion of a fragment of that temporal sovereignty recognized as indispensable in principle. Doubtless the temporal power of the Pope has been and may be diminished or increased the same as any other power of this world; but beyond that his right to the province of which it is sought to deprive him is founded upon treaties, upon the rights of nations, upon a possession, to say the least, as legitimate as that of Piedmont to the republic of Genoa, or of France to Corsica; as legitimate as any other in Europe. It must not be permitted that one or two stones of the edifice should be removed by arguments and principles which, once recognized and adopted, would of necessity destroy it altogether.

It is possible that it may perish, this old and holy edifice, which for eleven centuries has braved so many storms; it is possible that the holy principality may be joined in a common ruin with all the ancient rights of Europe so obstinately invaded and so miserably upheld. That is possible; everything is possible here below. None of us indissolubly unite the existence of the Papacy with that of its temporal power; whatever happens, that will survive, and with it our faith and our filial love. Providence will find other means to accomplish the infallible mission.

"Fata viam invenient."

But it must also be said, if this ancient, useful, and legitimate position of supreme authority be destroyed; if monarchs and revolutionists unite,—the former, to shake, the latter, to overthrow,—we shall always have the right to assert, even to the latest posterity, that they have done wrong. It will be at once a fault and a crime, a mistake

and an injustice. It will be a bad end attained by bad means. It will be the most flagrant violation, in an age of violations, of the laws of mankind and the public laws of civilized nations. It will be the triumph of cunning and violence over honour, over betrayed helplessness, and baffled faith. It is the fashion among our great pamphleteers, so complaisant to the strong, so disdainful of the weak, to ridicule the tears and the thunder of the Pope. Yes; we know that the tears of the Pope only affect his faithful children, and his thunder only alarms those whom it does not threaten. But they are none the less the tears of innocence, the thunder of justice. Neither will the former always remain fruitless, nor the latter always impotent. Our mouths will not be closed long or for ever. A thousand voices in the Church and in history will re-echo the *non licet* of the Gospel. Understand it well: *non licet*. It is nothing, yet it is all. It prevents nothing for the while, it determines everything for the future, in the judgment of God as in the judgment of men, It did not stay Herod from doing what he chose; but after all, who would wish to have been Herod? It did not hinder Pilate from permitting the triumph of the passions of a blind and guilty people, contenting himself with washing his hands of it. But who then would be the Pilate of the Papacy?

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